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PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL
STUDIES AT ATHENS.
THE MANTINEIAN RELIEFS.*

[PLATES I, II.]

In the year 1887, M. G. Fougères of the French School at Athens, while digging at Mantinea, came upon three slabs of marble bas-reliefs. These M. Fougères published in a very interesting article in the organ of the French school,¹ in which he endeavored to identify these slabs with the reliefs decorating the base of the statues of Leto, Apollo and Artemis in their temple at Mantinea as described by Pausanias (VIII. 9), thereby greatly enhancing the undoubted value of his important discovery. Since then Professor Overbeck,² supported by several other authorities, has denied M. Fougères' identification. It is the object of this paper to adduce further reasons for the ascription of these remains to the reliefs mentioned by Pausanias, and it is hoped that the identification may become conclusive.

The three slabs were found among the ruins of a Byzantine church at Mantinea in which they served as pavement, the face bearing the

*The substance of this paper was read at the opening meeting of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Jan. 17, 1890.

¹ *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, XII, 1888, pp. 105 *seq.*, pls. I, II, III. His view is shared by RAVAISSON, *Compte-rendu de l'acad. des inscript.*, etc., 1888, p. 83; LÖSCHKE, *Jahrbuch d. Instit.*, 1888, p. 192; FURTWÄNGLER, *Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 1482.

² *Bericht. d. Königl. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wissensch.*, 1888, pp. 284 *seq.*; *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, III, pp. 454, 457, where also a full list of other representations of Apollo and Marsyas is given.

reliefs fortunately having been turned downward. They are of white marble, according to M. Fougères possibly from Doliana near Tegea, and are now deposited in the National Museum at Athens where they have been put together carefully under the direction of M. Kabbadias. The plates illustrating M. Fougères' article are from photographs from the originals taken in the museum ; but, owing perhaps to insufficient light, and to spots and corrosions which disfigure the marble and interfere more or less with the lines and modelling, they are not as good as they might be. In such cases casts which give all the lines and do not reproduce the accidental staining of the marble may supplement the accurate appreciation of works of antiquity. The authorities of the museum generously made a set of casts which they presented to the American School to illustrate the present paper when read at one of our meetings.

The three slabs are practically of the same dimensions : slab I is 1.35 m. wide by 0.96 m. in height, while slabs II and III are 1.36 m. wide by 0.96 m. and 0.98 m. in height.

The first slab bears three figures of which the first is seated : a dignified male figure with long curls dressed in the long-sleeved talaric chiton, and himation, and holding a large lyre resting upon his knee. There can be no doubt that this figure represents Apollo. At the other end of this slab is a nude bearded older man playing the double pipes, in an attitude half-retreating, half-advancing, which from the well-known type of the Myronian Marsyas will at once be identified as Marsyas. Between these two figures stands a bearded younger man with a head-dress something like a combination of a veil and a Phrygian cap, wearing a chiton with sleeves, *anaxyrides*, and shoes. He holds in his right hand a knife. From this foreign costume, as well as from the type and evident function of the figure, no archæologist can fail to see in him the Scythian slave charged with the execution of Marsyas. The scene suggested by this slab is beyond doubt the first stage in the story of the flaying of Marsyas. It is equally evident that the six female figures holding musical instruments, rolls, and papyri represent six of the nine Muses, and it appears evident that one slab is missing which must have contained the other three Muses. Now, in the passage cited above, Pausanias, in describing Mantinea which he enters by the southeast gate, mentions first a double temple of which one half was dedicated to Asklepios ; and he continues : Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερόν καὶ τῶν παίδων. Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο

τρίτη μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾷ. τούτων πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βᾶθρῳ Μοῦσα καὶ Μαρσύας αὐλῶν. We thus learn that Praxiteles made the three statues of the second half of the temple, namely, Leto with her two children Apollo and Artemis, and that on the base of these statues was portrayed a story of Marsyas and the Muses.

Literally, Pausanias speaks only of "a Muse and Marsyas playing on the pipes;" and M. Fougères solves the difficulty in interpreting this passage, which even before his discovery had been felt, by amending it and substituting the plural *Μοῦσαι* for *Μοῦσα*. Many years ago, De Witte³ suggested that the one Muse who could accompany Marsyas would be Euterpe, who presides over flute-playing; but there is no archaeological or literary instance of the conjunction of these two figures known to me, and, as we shall see, this very slab disproves it. It appears possible that Pausanias, who never was a careful and accurate observer of the monuments which he describes loosely, mistook the seated Apollo for a female figure, a Muse, and rapidly noted what he hastily saw, characterizing the whole scene by two figures which he could identify. And this possibility was increased to my mind when I heard that, at the first glance, the discoverers themselves were misled in the same way. Still, perhaps M. Fougères' emendation is the better suggestion, as it includes the figures of all the other slabs,—and as the omission of the letter *ι* at the end of a word is easily made by any scribe.

With this definite passage of Pausanias to go upon, it seemed to me strange that there could be much hesitation in identifying the slabs found at Mantinea with the reliefs decorating the base of the Praxitelean statues; I was therefore astonished to find that most of the leading archaeologists here at Athens agreed with Professor Overbeck; for, even before I had read M. Fougères' article and was aware of the provenience of the slabs, I had pointed out these works as important specimens of fourth-century relief work of Praxitelean character.

M. Fougères, rightly assuming that there must have been one more slab bearing three Muses, restores the base of the statues by placing one slab upon each of the four sides of the pedestal, and this restoration has been in the minds of archaeologists as the only possible one, ever since the publication of these works. Starting from this conception of their distribution, Professor Overbeck and those who agree

³ *Élite Céramogr.*, II, pl. 70, p. 213, Note 3.

with him direct their strongest criticism against the identification on this ground. But, besides this, he and they also maintain that the reliefs themselves, in the posing of the figures and their relation to one another, and in the modelling of every one, as well as in the general character and artistic feeling of the grouping and of the separate figures, are either Roman or late-Hellenistic in style. Now Professor Overbeck, though he holds that M. Fougères has put it beyond all doubt that the three slabs belong together, and is right in maintaining that they were not part of a continuous frieze, denies that they could have been arranged on the four sides of the *bathron*, inasmuch as this base would have been decidedly too small for the three statues which stood upon it. Though it might be urged, even against this, that we do not know how large the pieces on either side were, into which each one of these slabs may have been set, just as a picture hangs with space about it upon our walls, still it would be hard to conceive of this base as a whole, if so decorated, and supporting the three large temple-statues. Yet, if we can, as I propose, show that all the four slabs formed a continuous composition and decorated only the front of the base, all the weighty arguments of Professor Overbeck and his supporters against the attribution of the reliefs, so far as these arguments depend upon the arrangement formerly proposed, fall to the ground. Now, I will say at once, though it hardly needs much argument, that the reliefs are more likely to have decorated a *bathron* than anything else. As, from the nature of the subject represented, the whole composition consisted of but four slabs, they are not likely to have formed part of an extended architectural decoration, such as a continuous frieze or single metopes. Nor are they likely, for the same reason, to have formed part of a balustrade or screen; nor could they have been fixed upon a sarcophagus. Four slabs of this dimension, evidently belonging together, are structurally most likely to have decorated the large base of some sculptural monument.

The first mistake in judging these works appears to have been made in that an analogy for the base of the three statues by Praxiteles was unconsciously found in the numerous existing open-air *bathra* discovered at Olympia, Epidauros, and other places. But these interesting bases of statues are chiefly those of athletic and votive figures, and are therefore much smaller in dimensions. They can in no way give us an adequate notion of the size, form, and decoration of the bases belonging to great temple-statues and groups of statues.

Now, as regards the bases of great temple-statues, so far as ancient literary records are concerned, the two about which most was written in antiquity are those of the Olympian Zeus and the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias. As regards the base of the statue of the Olympian Zeus, we learn from Pausanias (v. 11. 8) that it was decorated in relief, that the scene represented the birth of Aphrodite in the presence of all the chief divinities, the action bounded on one side by Helios, rising with his steeds, and, on the other, by Selene descending to the realms of night. The base of the Athena Parthenos was similarly decorated with scenes portraying the birth of Pandora. Fortunately for us, the so-called Lenormant statuette in the British Museum, giving a free copy of the Athena Parthenos, has on the base an imperfect rendering of this scene; but, imperfect as it may be, it shows that the decoration in relief occupied only the front of the base, and did not extend round the four sides. This, moreover, we should naturally have surmised before, inasmuch as it could not have been intended that the visitors should walk round the back of such sacred statues, generally placed toward the west end of the cella, without sufficient space left free at the back for proper appreciation of a relief on the base.

Among extant bases, I would specially draw attention to one decorated with reliefs representing pyrrhic dancers,⁴ now in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, to which my attention was drawn by Mr. Loring of King's College, Cambridge, and the British School at Athens. I shall have occasion to recur to these reliefs for further comparison with the works under discussion. For the present, I merely wish to point out that, though this base belonged to what must have been a much smaller group of figures than ours, as the figures in the relief, cut into the solid stone of the base, are less than half the size of our Muses, it is still instructive as showing sculptured decoration similarly disposed only on the front side.

The most important light, however, upon the disposition of these slabs and the base which they ornamented, is thrown by the important discovery at Lykosoura in the autumn of 1889 of the temple-statues of Damophon of Messene by Messrs. Kabbadias and Leonardos. The temple and the statues there found are beyond a doubt those described by Pausanias (VIII. 38). The date of these works cannot be far re-

⁴ BEULÉ, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, II, pls. III and IV; RHANGABÉ, *Antiq. hellén.*, pl. XXI; *vide*, also, MICHAELIS in *Rhein. Mus.*, XVII. 217, and *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Arch. Instit. Athen*, I, 295. The inscription is published *CIA*, II. No. 1286.

moved from that of Praxiteles. Now, there were four statues on this base, while there were three on that of Mantinea. By computation, the width of the Lykosoura base would be about eight metres, and on this ratio, a base for only three statues would be about six metres wide. Four slabs of the dimension of our Mantineian reliefs would measure about $5\frac{1}{4}$ metres. Hence, so far as actual measurements would go, four such slabs would suffice, when placed continuously side by side, to decorate the front of the base of a group of temple-statues such as the Leto, Apollo and Artemis at Mantinea in all likelihood formed. Accordingly the arguments of Professor Overbeck, so far as the ordinary dimensions and decoration of such bases are concerned, fall to the ground, and leave unshaken the probability of such an arrangement of the reliefs from Mantinea.

A careful consideration of the composition of these reliefs, necessarily leads us to the same conclusion. There can hardly be a doubt, first, that there was one more slab sculptured with three Muses, and, second, that the slab with Apollo must have occupied a central position. The presence of six Muses necessarily leads us to the conclusion that at the time when these reliefs were made the Muses as accompanying Apollo had been already fixed at the number of nine. I must, however, leave this point for discussion hereafter. Assuming, then, that there were four slabs in all, and that the slab with Apollo occupied the central place, the next questions are whether of the two extant slabs with Muses the one containing the seated Muse is to be placed to right or left of the Apollo slab, and whether the remaining slab is to be placed at the extreme left or right. Mr. H. D. Hale, while a student at the American School at Athens, made the restorations⁵ of the group and the base reproduced on Plate I. Apart from all other considerations of composition which have led me to place the slabs as they are here given, *i. e.*, the seated Muse immediately beside Apollo and the remaining slab to the left hand of this, there is one, apparently minute, but very interesting fact which finally confirmed me in this arrangement. Of the Muses there are four heads comparatively well preserved. Among these that of the seated Muse and the one immediately beside her are in full-face, while the two others are turned in different directions. The head of the Muse with the pipes

⁵ I need hardly say that the statues are imaginary. The Apollo would probably not have been represented without any drapery. But I think Mr. Hale has been successful in giving a certain fourth-century character to his composition.

is turned to our right in three-quarter view, that of the central figure in the other slab to our left. Now, there is a marked difference in the workmanship of these two heads; the inner side of the face of the Muse with the pipes is carefully finished, while the inner side of the other head is comparatively unfinished, and the contrast is here the greater as the outer side of this head is beautifully worked. It is evident, from this fact, that the inner side of the face of the Muse with the pipes was designed to be prominently visible to the spectator looking at the group of three statues on the base; while the inner side of the other head was not meant to be carefully examined. Placing the slabs as they are here given, and imagining the spectator to stand opposite the centre of the base, the Muse with the pipes presents herself in three-quarter view, the inner side of the face becoming well visible, while the central Muse of the other slab exhibits her head in profile, the profile being exquisitely finished, while the unfinished inner side of the face does not show. Further, the Muse with the papyrus is the only one who has a larger bare space at her back, which gives a proper finish to the composition. I therefore place this slab at the left end. Then follows the other extant slab with Muses, then the slab with Apollo and Marsyas, and on this side the composition was brought to a conclusion by another slab with three standing Muses similar in composition to the slab at the other end. In Mr. Hale's drawing (PL. I, *fig. 2*) the end slab has been repeated on the other side to give some idea of the ensemble of the composition.

This I postulate is the composition decorating the front of the base of the three statues; and with this postulate we will proceed to consider the main features of the composition, first, from the point of view of the subject represented, and, second, from the constructive or tectonic side.

The first task an ancient sculptor at work upon a group consisting of several figures had to deal with, was the proper arrangement of the figures with regard to their relative importance to the scene depicted, and this arrangement must then be modified by the constructive destination of such grouping. It is unnecessary to say that the most important figure or figures must occupy the middle. Moreover, when there were separate slabs, it was desirable, as far as possible, to place the central group on one slab. This is done in the present case by placing Apollo, Marsyas and the Scythian on one slab. If there had been five slabs in our composition, the arrangement would

have been a comparatively easy task ; for thus this slab would have been placed in the middle with two slabs on either side. But then it would have been desirable to place Apollo in the centre of this slab, perhaps with the Scythian on one side and Marsyas on the other. But the difficulty is still further increased by the actual number of figures represented in the whole of this composition. When there is an uneven number of figures, due prominence can easily be given to one figure, by placing it in the middle with an equal number of figures on either side. This is done, for instance, in both the pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. But when there is an even number of figures, it is not possible, from the considerations of symmetrical composition, to give prominence of place to one figure. In the western pediment of the Parthenon, the centre was equally occupied by two figures of equal importance in the scene enacted ; moreover the sacred olive-tree really occupies the centre of the pediment with Athena and Poseidon in diverging lines on either side. I have several times hitherto pointed out how the careful study of extant ancient compositions forces us to conclude that the ancients studied most minutely such questions of grouping, and I would refer the reader to what I have written on the arrangement of the central figures of the Parthenon Frieze,⁶ where I have endeavored to show that the introduction of the central incident was due, in a great degree, to the desire of giving proper prominence to three figures, viz., Zeus, Hera and Athena. Brunn, Flasch, and Treu, also, have pointed with emphasis to the careful consideration of symmetrical balance in such compositions. Having an even number of figures, namely, twelve, our artist could not place Apollo in the centre. The physical centre in our composition therefore lies between Apollo and the seated Muse. The artist has furthermore emphasized this as the centre by placing two seated figures on either side of the central point. This corresponded probably also to the general arrangement of the statues on the base, in which Leto was probably seated in the middle, while Apollo and Artemis were standing on either side. The discovery at Lykosoura has shown us that the two central figures (Demeter and Despoina) were seated, while Anytos and Artemis were standing on either side. The points immediately on either side of the centre would thus be occupied by two seated figures. But, no doubt, the danger would arise that Apollo

⁶ *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, pp. 244-253.

and the seated Muse would be made equally prominent. Yet there is one striking point of difference in the compositions where this arrangement obtains. If it had been the intention of the artist to give similar importance to both of the two seated figures grouped on either side of the centre, he would have placed them either face to face or back to back. In the frieze of the Parthenon, Zeus heads the one side of the Assembly of Gods, turned from the centre, and Athena the other, facing in the opposite direction,—an arrangement, too, which is highly conducive to symmetry. In our case, however, the seated Muse is not turned toward the other Muses as if she were heading that side of the composition; but is turned toward Apollo, and, by this attitude, throws the symmetry somewhat out, leaving the preponderance of interest and line toward the other side where what there is of drama is enacted. This is the only element of asymmetry in what is otherwise composed in almost extreme severity of balance. To realize how far this balance goes, I merely point to the fact that, while we have two seated figures in the centre, each with a stringed instrument, we have beside these respectively the only two figures that are approximately in full face. The lines of the arms of these two figures are what might be called rhythmically symmetrical: the arms of the Muse and of the Scythian that are toward the centre are both extended downward in a flattish curve, diverging from the centre; the arms away from the centre are drawn upward in a sharp curve toward the centre. The figures outside of these again, Marsyas and the slim Muse at the end of the slab, both have pipes which they hold toward the centre. I will not confuse the reader by pointing out further the system of balance and symmetry in the grouping of every single slab. I am most concerned with the demonstration of the continuity and completeness of this grouping, consisting of four slabs placed side by side.

The figure at the extreme left end, then, being turned squarely toward the centre, shows the general direction of line, and the seated Muse nearest the centre, being turned toward Apollo, again draws the eye away from the physical centre toward the adjoining slab, where Apollo and Marsyas form the chief group. Thus, in the difficult task of filling one slab with three figures enacting the scene, and of placing six Muses on the one side of Apollo and only three Muses on the other side of Marsyas, while yet maintaining a symmetrical arrangement with regard to the centre on the base, the artist has succeeded well in conciliating the opposed conditions of his problem.

It is most interesting to note, furthermore, how the sculptor has used the constructive suggestions of his work of decoration to emphasize the importance of the chief figure and scene. In the case of pedimental groups, and even of a continuous architectural frieze, greater importance can be given to a figure or to a group of figures by varying the outlines of the whole composition, so that the more important figures are taller or stand higher, and there is thus a natural climax of line corresponding to the rise in interest. This pyramidal form is the ordinary canon for composition. But such a rise of line on the pedestal of a statue or group, where the chief structural aim is that of stability for the figures which it holds, would be painfully unconstructive. It would suggest in line not only that the central statue was unstable, but that the statues on either side would be in danger of falling off. Our artist has thus adopted another device. He has felt that importance is given by variation of line ; but, instead of making the lines rise as they approach the centre of importance, he has produced an abrupt depression of line in the centre which, in an equally effective manner, attracts the eye to the most important figure in the whole relief, though that figure does not occupy the actual centre. Five of the Muses on the left stand erect with the line of their heads horizontal, and then there is a sudden fall of line as we near the centre in the seated Muse, which becomes still more marked when we reach Apollo, who with his large lyre immediately attracts the eye, and, by his attitude, directs us toward Marsyas. Marsyas again, by his striking action, fixes our attention and holds it ; for he is the only figure who, in bold contrast to the repose of all the others, is in violent action. While his action thus readily attracts the eye to that side of the centre, the general treatment of outline-composition in the reliefs as a whole properly draws our eye to Apollo. If, as I have done, we place the three slabs together with the arrangement proposed, and a drawing of equal dimensions containing three figures, similar in attitude and grouping to those of the left end, is placed on the extreme right, and if then we stand at some distance from the relief in the actual central line between the two seated figures, there will, first, be no sense of want of symmetry in the composition as a whole ; secondly, our eye will be at once attracted to Apollo as the most important figure, and from him it will naturally pass on to Marsyas.

Thus the composition in itself confirms the view, suggested to us by the evidence of similar known monuments, that these three slabs, with

another that is missing, formed part of a continuous scene which would properly decorate the base of a group of statues, and that the base of the Mantineian statues was, according to all the evidence we have of dimensions, such as would require a frieze of the size of the one consisting of four such slabs.

If now we consider the date of these reliefs as it is manifested in the treatment of the subject and in the style of the work, I can see hardly any ground for assigning it to the late Hellenistic or the Roman period.

To begin with the moulding which finishes off the relief on the top : it is of so simple a character that I should defy an archæologist to adduce reliefs of the later periods that manifest a treatment so simple. But in these matters I would not trust my own judgment, and I am happy to adduce the opinion of Mr. Schultz of the British School at Athens, who has made a careful study of Greek mouldings, and according to whom this moulding points to the fourth, and would not be out of place even in the fifth, century B. C.

As regards the composition again, it appears to me that there is a simplicity bordering almost on severity in the arrangement of the figures side by side, an absence of that restless fulness of line approaching redundancy which characterizes the relief-work of the Hellenistic and of the Roman periods. It is true that there are occasional instances of Hellenistic sarcophagi ornamented by single figures placed without any connection with one another round the four sides, as one I have recently seen which Hamdy Bey discovered at Sidon ; but these are so exceptional that they seem to me derivatives from such Hellenic works as that we are discussing. Moreover, such Hellenistic reliefs generally manifest some intrusion of an architectural nature in the relief itself, and the single figures are usually separated from one another by pillars or suggestions of niches. But, generally, where such reliefs of the later periods are not already full of lines in the violent action of the figures, trees or shrubs or other objects of landscape are introduced. For the arrangement as a whole I find the closest analogy in the relief of the pyrrhic dancers referred to above, which, as has already been stated, is a work of the fourth century B. C. It may moreover be observed that this fourth-century relief, which has a similarly simple moulding, has its figures subdivided into groups of three and four with intervening spaces, though there is no natural subdivision owing to a union of separate slabs.

If, furthermore, we take the general treatment of the subject represented, I should say that it is directly opposed to Hellenistic or Roman treatment. The flaying of Marsyas is a very favorite subject in these periods, and is commonly represented with dramatic vividness in the moment immediately preceding the barbarous punishment inflicted by Apollo upon his presumptuous rival.⁷ Marsyas is suspended by the arms, and the barbarous Scythian, of whom the famous Aretino in Florence is the type, is in the act of whetting his knife to inflict the punishment. The attendant figures, moreover, all display some intense interest in the action. In our representation, on the other hand, extreme moderation is used even at the cost of a dramatic rendering of the story. The only figure shown in action is Marsyas himself, and for him the fourth century had a prototype which belonged to the archaic period, more than a century earlier than the age of Praxiteles, namely, the Marsyas of Myron. Everywhere, in the types of the figures as well as in their general arrangement and attitudes, the idea of beauty, one might almost say comeliness, seems to have been predominant, and to have prevailed over the desire of rendering the dramatic side of the story.

The Muses moreover in their conception are, as far as we know, of the character which would best correspond to their representation in the fourth century.⁸

As is the case with all the Greek mythological types, those of the Muses were not at once fixed in the form in which we know them; nor were they ever rigidly stereotyped in the conception of one period.

At first, in the earliest times, both in literature and in art, the personalities of the Muses were not distinct and they do not differ essentially from Nymphs, Horai, Charites, etc. Nor, in traditions differing from that of the Hesiodic poems, was their number fixed to that of nine. There is evidence that the number of three was the more common number even down to the middle of the fifth century B. C. Nor were the names attributed to them, under which we know them,

⁷ Vide two sarcophagi published by TRENDLENBURG, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1871, *tav. d' Agg. D* from Villa Pacca, Rome; the other from the Villa Medici, *Annali*, *tav. d' Agg. E*; also one published by WIESELER (who mentions others in footnote, p. 122), *Annali*, 1861, a sarcophagus in cathedral of Palermo. See, also, the complete list of representations of the *Musikalischer Wettstreit des Marsyas* in OVERBECK, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Leipzig, 1889, III, pp. 420-82.

⁸ Mr. OSCAR BIE has summarized what is known concerning the treatment of Muses in ancient art: *Die Musen in der Antiken Kunst*, Berlin, 1887.

definitely assigned to each till a comparatively late time. Even down to the Alexandrine period, there appears to have existed considerable fluctuation in the form and attribution of such names, as well as in the assignment to the different Muses of their provinces, functions, and attributes.

At first the Muses are merely the musical companions of the gods who rejoice their hearts with song (*Iliad*, I. 603), and afterward the followers of Apollo, when, in the transformation of the personality of this deity at Delphi, the sterner python-slayer becomes the gentler leader of song and music. Song, music and the dance are their chief pursuits.

With Aristotle the subdivision and classification of the arts and sciences are first developed, and are fixed and thoroughly differentiated by his followers at Alexandria, until the departments become stereotyped. Corresponding to this process, the Muses become classified and every one of them is, as far as possible, made the personified mythical type for some branch of art or learning. This of course leads to the multiplication and specification of attributes. In the fourth century B. C. this development has not yet taken place. We find only the musical instruments, attitudes of dancing, the papyrus or scroll, and the diptych corresponding to a book. The mask for the comic muse, and the globe for Urania have not yet been introduced. The latter attribute is distinctly late.

The earliest extant work of art representing the Muses is the so-called François vase⁹ by Klitias. This vase is certainly as early as the sixth century B. C. and is thoroughly archaic in character. The Muses here accompany the gods in the procession in celebration of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. They are nine in number, are led by Kalliope and have the well-known¹⁰ names given in the Theogony of Hesiod. But in later vases the numbers vary—in fact we hardly ever find nine Muses. Four and six seem to be the predominant numbers. Dr. Bie thinks that these vases tend to show that in the periods which they mark the Muses were still fluctuating in number.

⁹ *Arch. Zeit.*, 1873, p. 24 seq.

¹⁰ Ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι,
Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε, θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε,
Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἑρατώ τε, Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε,
Καλλιόπη θ' ἣ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.
ἣ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ (*Theogonia*, 75 seq.).

As I have on several previous occasions maintained, the purely decorative and tectonic considerations of vase-compositions were paramount to the vase-painter and influenced and modified even his treatment of mythological scenes and types; we may therefore go wrong if we attach too much importance to representations on vases for the detailed interpretation of mythical scenes. So in the case of the Muses, the number of figures introduced by the vase-painter was entirely determined by the number of figures his composition demanded. Among the vases I would single out for comparison several red-figured ones¹¹ which correspond in spirit to the Mantineian reliefs and are themselves not later than the fourth century B. C. Among these, moreover, none of the later attributes, such as the mask or the globe, occur. They have the different forms of lyre, barbiton, syrinx, *etc.*, flutes, and scroll. More florid ones of a later period have more figures and fuller lines.¹²

The earliest historical artistic representations mentioned in ancient authors are the chest of Kypselos,¹³ and the altar of Hyakinthos at Amyklai.¹⁴ The sculptors who made statues of Muses in the beginning of the fifth century¹⁵ were Ageladas, Kanachos and Aristokles. These Muses had the lyre, barbiton and syrinx, the *χέλυσ*, and flutes. A Muse of Lesbothemis¹⁶ has the *sambyke* (a stringed instrument, probably the same as the *trigonon*). Toward the middle of the fifth century we hear of the famous group of Apollo with Leto and Artemis and the Muses¹⁷ decorating the eastern pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. This was by Praxias, the pupil of Kalamis. Dr. Bie thinks that there were probably only three Muses in this pediment. I see no reason for believing this; on the contrary, from the nature of such pedimental compositions it appears more likely that there were nine.

It is however quite certain that the group of Muses in the Helikonian sanctuary of the Muses, by Kephisodotos¹⁸ the elder, the father

¹¹ Among these a very fine Volcentian kalpis with Apollo and seven Muses, GERHARD, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, II. 17. It was bought from the collection of Lucien Bonaparte in 1841, and is now at Berlin. Plate 18 gives a krater (so-called oxybaphon) now at Berlin with Apollo, Terpsichore and Kleio. A fine vase with Muses and a poet (Mousaios) is published in WELCKER, *Alte Denkmäler*, III. pl. 31. This vase, also from Vulci, is now in London. A fine one with Marsyas, a Panathenaic amphora, is published in LENORMANT and DE WITTE, *Élite Céramogr.*, II. pl. 75; another, II. 79.

¹² *Élite Céramogr.*, II. pls. 70-73. Quite a florid one in Naples, *vide Arch. Zeit.*, 1869, taf. 17.

¹³ PAUS., V. 18. 4.

¹⁴ PAUS., III. 19. 5.

¹⁵ *Anthol. Gr.*, II. 15. 35; OVERBECK, *Schriftquellen*, No. 395.

¹⁶ ATHEN., IV. 182; OVERBECK, *S. Q.*, 2083.

¹⁷ PAUSANIAS, X. 19. 4; OVERBECK, *S. Q.*, 857.

of Praxiteles, consisted of nine figures, and from this time on, though single Muses were frequently represented in statues, the number of nine must certainly have been fixed as the recognized number of their full chorus. It is likely, too, that many of the later Roman statues are reproductions of the types established by Kephisodotos and his colleagues. In the case of Praxiteles, we have instances of the manner in which father and son worked on the same traditions, the Hermes with the infant Dionysos being the continuation of a type of figures introduced by Kephisodotos. It thus appears highly probable that the Mantineian relief reproduces in a modified form the Muses of Helikon. And this becomes the more likely, when we remember that these Muses on the relief have struck archæologists as being reproductions of single statues.

I will not touch here upon the Muses of Ambrakia which Dr. Bie¹⁹ has treated with great thoroughness. Of extant reliefs I would point to the circular base of a statue from Halikarnassos published by Dr. Trendelenburg.²⁰ This relief is supposed to be of the third century B. C. and at latest of the Hellenistic, not of the Roman, period. In this there is as yet no distinction between the tragic and the comic Muse, the globe does not occur, and the style is not of the late redundant form. But from the introduction of the trees and the general character of composition and execution of single figures, the work is certainly considerably later than is our Mantineian relief.

A much later work, manifesting fully the treatment as influenced by Alexandrine learning and art, is the *tabula Archelai*,²¹ the apotheosis of Homer by Archelaos of Priene which is fixed by the palaeographic character of the inscription as of the first century B. C. Here we have all the names and all the late attributes. This representation differs in character from the Mantineian reliefs almost as much as do the Roman sarcophagi referred to above.

Now, the fact that we have two standing Muses without attributes in the centre of each of the two Muse-slabs makes it almost necessary that the non-extant slab should have had a similar figure in the centre. The globe and mask could not have been massed into this one slab. A possible restoration suggests itself with one erect figure in the centre,

¹⁸ PAUSAN., IX. 30. 1; OVERBECK, *S. Q.*, 878. Three were the work of Kephisodotos, three were by Strongylion, three by Olympiosthenes.

¹⁹ *Die Muses*, pp. 24 seq.

²⁰ *Winckelmann-Programm*, Berlin, 1876.

²¹ OVERBECK, *Kunstarch. Vorl.*, p. 214; KORTEGARN, *De tabula Archelai*, Bonn, 1862.

at the extreme right end a Muse holding something like the diptychon, and at the other end a Muse with a musical instrument.

At all events, from the mythological treatment of the Muses on the Mantinea relief, when viewed in the series of such representations, it appears conclusive, that, as regards the rendering of these types, they cannot be later than the fourth century and are probably of the immediate period of Praxiteles. Finally, to consider the single figures: that of Apollo, seated in dignified repose, would not only point to the fourth century but might even go back to a prototype of the fifth. It is probable that the artist exercised some restraint in this figure, which partook of a religious character. The relation of the Marsyas to the Myronian statue has already been pointed out. Moreover other instances of the adaptation of Myronian types in Praxitelean art have been dwelt on by Kekulé.²² As regards the Scythian, I have already maintained that in the treatment of this figure there is nothing pointing to the later periods. On the contrary we should contrast him with the Aretino, which typifies the treatment of a barbarian in what is probably Pergamene art. If Overbeck sees something uncommon and late in his headdress and general drapery, I would ask for instances of the treatment of such figures in the fourth century and earlier periods. The examples present to my mind are those of the Archer, probably Paris, in the eastern pediment of the Temple of Athena at Aigina, a work of the early fifth century B. C., in which this foreign warrior wears the Phrygian cap, and has the close-fitting sleeves and trousers; second, as far as we can make them out, the foreign warriors on the frieze of the Temple of Nike Apteros; third, some of the Amazons of the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, and for the lower part of the body the colossal horseman from Halikarnassos. If this headdress is commonly worn in later times by Paris, Amazons, Artemis, Adonis and Attis, it means that these later representations have been taken from such earlier types as the Scythian here represented. The same applies still more to the figures of Muses. If the seated Muse reminds us of some of the most graceful Tanagrean terracottas, it shows us whence the makers of these terracottas got their prototypes; for we have never assumed that the works of these minor artists were always original inspirations. Vague general analogies in the wearing of the drapery may also be found between some of these Muses and Roman draped

²² *Der Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*, 1881.

female figures. But as I have had occasion to set forth once before,²³ the general arrangement of the drapery of some of these statues of the Roman period was borrowed from earlier prototypes, especially of the fourth century B. C. And if we can point out analogies in the treatment of drapery and in attitudes between the Mantineian Muses and figures that are undoubtedly of the fourth century, we must, taking into account the sober and distinctly Hellenic technic of the relief-work of these slabs, assign them also to the fourth century B. C. I have little doubt in my mind, that the fact of these Muses, having superficial likeness in the arrangement of drapery to some works of the Hellenistic period existing in the Italian museums, has been the efficient cause which has led some archæologists to assign them to the later date. Now I merely ask the student to compare these Muses as regards the arrangement of drapery: first, with the colossal figure of Mausolos and of Artemisia from Halikarnassos,²⁴ undoubtedly made about the year 350 B. C. These statues appear to be the prototypes to many draped figures of the Hellenistic period. Secondly, I would compare them with the draped female figure on the drum of the column from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos,²⁵ also a work of about the same period in the fourth century. I would further adduce the statue of the Lateran Sophokles,²⁶ probably going back to the same time. Then let us compare the drapery of the second and third Muses to our left with the drapery of the standing female figure on a beautiful large sepulchral slab in the National Museum at Athens, here published for the first time, and without doubt a work of the fourth century (PL. II, fig. 1). It will be noticed how in the arrangement of himation and chiton, how in the folding and even in such details as the cross-band of folds about the waist, and the small knot or end of drapery pulled under the end of this cross-band, the arrangement is essentially the same. Another fourth-century sepulchral relief in the same museum hitherto unpublished (PL. II, fig. 2) bears the closest analogy, in the treatment of the figure and of the drapery, to the slim Muse with the pipes. Finally if we compare this figure of the third Muse with the two central female figures on the base of the pyrrhic dancers previously referred to, we not only must be struck with the close analogy, but we should certainly be led to the opinion that these two female figures are in the

²³ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VII (1886), p. 247.

²⁴ MRS. MITCHELL, p. 470, etc.; *Monumenti*, v. 18.

²⁵ RAYET, *Monuments Antiques*, II. pl. 50.

²⁶ *Monumenti dell'Inst.*, IV. 27.

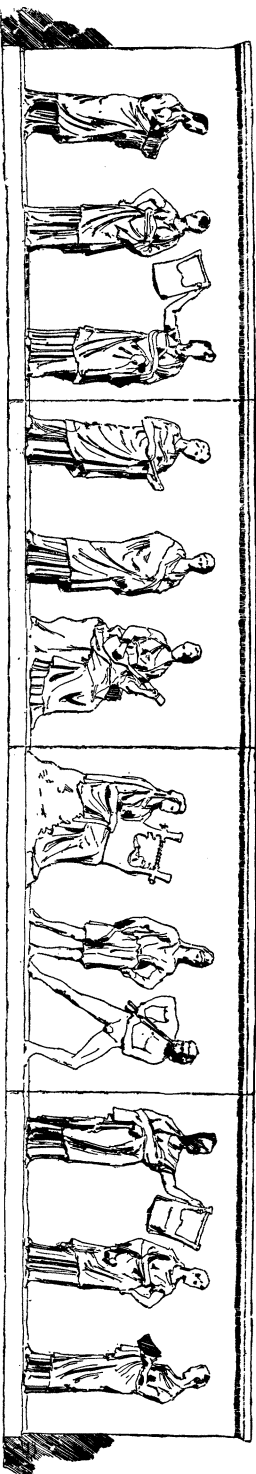
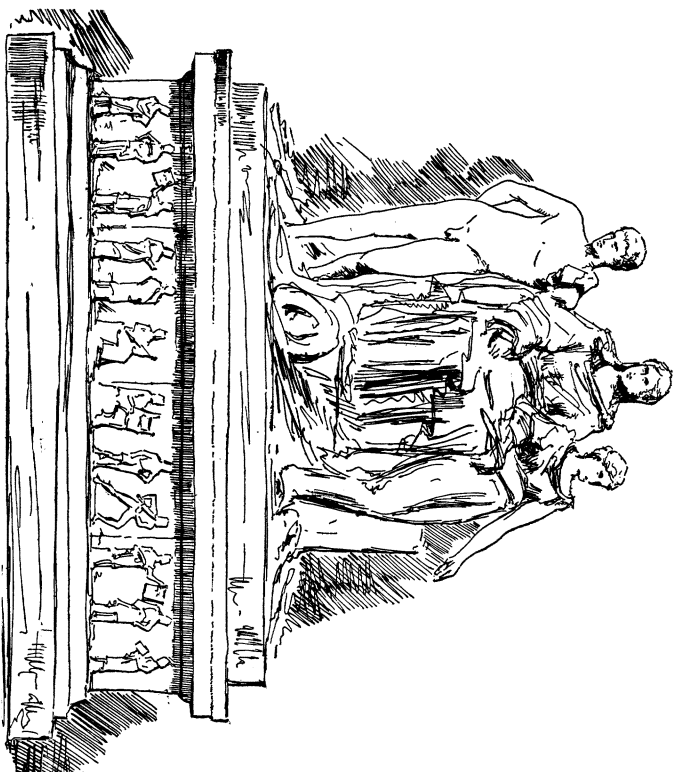
treatment of the drapery and the heads slightly later modifications of the types as shown in the two Muses to which they bear analogy. But by the inscription on this base the work has been assigned to the second half of the fourth century B. C. It is thus beyond a doubt that the Muses, as here rendered, have their closest analogies in works of the age of Praxiteles, and if we add to this the general feeling in the attitude, with slight inclination of the head, of the Muse with the pipes, and consider the sentiment of all these figures, we cannot but appreciate that they are in all their characteristics expressive of Praxitelean art. By this we do not mean that these sculptures are necessarily by the hand of Praxiteles, but that they contain features which point to his influence as it has been manifested to us in the works we now assign to him.

To sum up: At Mantinea reliefs are found representing Muses grouped with Apollo and Marsyas with the pipes. These reliefs are better suited to decorate the front of the base of a large group of statues than to any other function we can think of. From what we know of the bases of such temple-statues the dimensions of four such slabs would just correspond in extent to appropriate ornament of such character. The technical and artistic treatment of the relief, the conception of the subject, the grouping of the figures, and the style and feeling of every single figure, correspond most with the art of the period of Praxiteles. We now read in Pausanias that the base of the temple-statues of Leto, Artemis and Apollo was ornamented with a representation of Marsyas with the pipes and a Muse. The conclusion seems evident. Is it probable that at Mantinea there existed another relief, not an architectural frieze, nor a balustrade, representing the same subject as that described by Pausanias, made without any relation to the same scene as represented by the great artist in the same place? It might be urged that the present reliefs are a later copy of the earlier sculptures that had been injured or destroyed. Well! a bad Roman copy it certainly is not, and we can see no reason for thus shirking the responsibility of assigning to Praxitelean art a work which we have the good fortune to possess. Such shirking reminds one of the pleasantry made by a maintainer of the personality of Homer: that the Homeric poems were not written by Homer but by another man of the same name.

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January, 1890.



BASE WITH RELIEF BY PRAXITELES AT MANTINEIA.



SEPULCHRAL RELIEFS AT ATHENS.
FOURTH CENTURY.